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TURKEY: INDICTMENT AGAINST THE  
REVOLUTIONARY WAY GROUP

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## WEST EUROPE REPORT

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## TURKEY: INDICTMENT AGAINST THE REVOLUTIONARY WAY GROUP

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 27 Oct - 7 Nov 82 p 7

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[27 Oct 82 p 7]

[Text] Birth and Development of DEV-YOL

Ankara (CUMHURIYET BUREAU) -- Reading of the indictment began yesterday in the Ankara Revolutionary Way [DEV-YOL] trial of 572 defendants, 184 of them on capital offenses. The trial, being heard by the First Military Court of the Ankara Martial Law Command, began on 18 October. The indictment traces the birth and development of DEV-YOL and asserts that its views are based on the thought of Mahir Cayan and his followers.

The introduction to the indictment summarizes the views of the "Turkish People's Liberation Party-Front [TPLP-F]," which, it is pointed out, Mahir Cayan and his friends founded. The indictment reads as follows on the birth and development of the Revolutionary Way organization:

"Although the contentions of the indicted illegal organization named Revolutionary Way come in principle from Marxist-Leninist doctrine, they are based on the reinterpretation of this doctrine by Mahir Cayan and his followers and on the illegal organization named the Turkish People's Liberation Party-Front which they founded in the late 1960's. For this reason, it would be well to summarize Marxism-Leninism and the views of Mahir Cayan and the TPLP-F before describing the purpose of the Revolutionary Way organization and the strategy it pursued."

The indictment then proceeds to explain what Marxism is. This section begins with the sentence, "The codification of leftist thought began with Karl Marx (1818-1883)," and defines the concepts of Materialism, Dialectic and Historical Materialism. These lines are of note in the definition of materialism: "According to materialism, the philosophical opposite of idealism, the material is fundamental and conscience is secondary. Materialism expresses the concept of the world as evolving, not created by God, and being infinite in time and space."

Following the introduction of Marx and Engels and the description of their beliefs, the indictment explains how Marxism developed, citing here the "Communist Manifesto." After a discussion of the "Communist Manifesto," it proceeds to the topic of Leninism.

Putting Marxism into Practice

Following the discussion of Marxism, the view is expressed that "the emergence of Marxism from theory into practice occurred with Lenin." "Lenin, in his interpretation of Marx's views, made them into a social manual," says the indictment, summarizing Lenin's views in this way:

"Leninism: Lenin fully shared the views of Marx and Engels, brought new dimensions and interpretations to their views on capitalism, monopolistic capitalism and imperialism in particular and gave concrete form to Marxist doctrine based on the international labor movement following the deaths of Marx and Engels and on the experience gained from the labor movement in Russia. Lenin's basic view finds its expression in the theory of socialist revolution. Lenin maintained that, under the disorganized conditions of development during the imperialism stage, which he described as the ultimate state of capitalism and the starting

point of revolution, socialism would not gain success in all countries at the same time, but in only one or a few countries at first. He developed the doctrine of the proletarian party as the organizing power, without which he said neither proletarian government nor the establishment of socialism was possible. However, according to Lenin, such a party would of necessity be restricted, closed, secret, centralized and militaristic. Leninism is not only a concept of revolutionary strategy for applying Marxism to Russian circumstances. It is at the same time a way of looking at the organization of the revolutionary party, the 'Proletarian Party.' If the party does not have the qualities described above, it will become the victim of the forces of annihilation. Limiting the party means that it must be restricted to a relatively narrow circle of people from its own organizations. It is closed because it is formed of a small group of professional revolutionaries completely devoted to their task. Though the party's activities must take the form of a seditious movement, they must also consist of public agitation and propaganda. Centralization means that the local organizing units take orders from the central administration and are appointed by it. Lenin called this democratic centralization. Moreover, both legal and illegal means are to be used and tested in organizing. According to Lenin, revolution requires the leadership of the working class, which forms the progressive power-vanguard of society, as well as the proletarian party. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is essential. Flexibility in tactical problems and retreating before the ranks are routed when necessary are important.

"The basic principles of Leninism may be summarized thus:

--The state mechanism, bureaucracy and militarism as a whole is a means of oppression for the ruling classes.

--The proletarian revolution cannot take place without a political party of the proletariat.

--The proletarian party is the vanguard of the proletariat which fights on the ideological, economic, democratic and political fronts and is founded on dialectic and historic materialism.

--The revolution is continuous and uninterrupted. It does not end with the seizure of power alone and the remaking of the substructure, but continues until the conflicts peculiar to class societies in the superstructure are completely eradicated.

#### Marxist-Leninist Theory of Revolution

Marx, Engels and Lenin envisioned realization of the proletarian revolution in two stages. These are the stages of evolution and revolution. The tactics for each stage are different.

Evolution means raising the political consciousness, educating and organizing the proletariat and its allies, consisting of all progressive forces of society, then preparing the social and psychological conditions for the revolutionary stage to follow, exposing and criticizing the ruling classes by means of democratic opposition and tightening the bonds between the proletariat and its leadership. It lasts a long time.

"The revolution stage, though of shorter duration than the evolution stage, does not mean a sudden rebellion. It, too, is realized in three stages.

"Transition period: Begins immediately after the evolution stage. The stage in which the wave of revolution rises slowly and the masses begin to agitate, turning their beliefs into mass actions (such as local and general strikes and demonstrations).

"Tactical offensive period: This is a brief period in which the leadership learns about urban actions, therefore enabling the popular masses to become proficient in leadership and teaching the masses the proper tactics for rebellion. This period is one during which the popular revolutionary consciousness is fully raised, the wave of revolution crests and the leadership's tactical offensives prior to the final attack become intensive. The principal purpose here is to intimidate and create panic in the enemy ranks and to disperse and open holes in the counter-revolutionary front. Actions during this period are street battles and urban guerrilla warfare.

"Strategic offensive, transition to regular army and rebellion: The political and economic crisis in society has thoroughly deepened. Rebellion is only a matter of time. The strategic offensive is to be carried out by a regular army. All previously scattered forces are gathered for the final attack, barricade battles and urban guerrilla warfare have now relinquished their places to the rebellion tactics of the regular army.

"The first condition enabling realization of the revolution stage in a given country, furthermore, is the existence in that country of a political and social climate conducive to the seizure of political power by revolutionary insurgency. Such a climate means that country is in a state of national crisis encompassing all areas of society which affects the oppressors and the oppressed alike, weakening the power of the oppressors and bringing the oppressed to a state of readiness for action. This is called the objective condition for revolution. The second condition for the revolution stage is the existence of the political organization of the proletariat whereby the conscious and organized masses join the battle. The revolution will take place if the proletarian party has raised the consciousness, organized and mobilized the proletariat and the majority of the peasants. And this is called the subjective condition for revolution.

"According to Marxist-Leninist theory, the working class will constitute the leadership in realization of the revolution and the peasant potential will be subject to the working class. The proletariat will seize political power in an alliance with the peasants and other working people, but the working class is the leader of this alliance and does not share power with the others.

"This revolutionary strategy, attempted in Turkey under the name 'National Democratic Revolution,' was planned according to the goal of socialist political power."

[28 Oct 82 p 7]

[Text] Interruption of Seditious Movement by 12 March

The DEV-YOL indictment cites post-1960 developments in our country. This section contends that the strikes, demonstrations and boycotts in 1970-1971 represented the transition stage of revolution and the actions undertaken by Mahir Cayan and his followers were the "tactical offensive phase."

The Turkish Revolutionary Youth Federation (DEV-GENC), founded in the 1960's, is said to have been important as the source of the militant cadres intent on shifting the system of government in Turkey towards Marxist-Leninist dogma. This section of the indictment discusses the founding and development of DEV-GENC. DEV-GENC began historically with the Federation of Intellectual Clubs (FIC) formed in 1965. After the FIC convention in 1969 when Yusuf Kupeli became its president, the bylaws were revised and the FIC changed its name to DEV-GENC.

The indictment then comments on the DEV-GENC convention resolutions and, following an explanation of its theory, discusses the accession of Mahir Cayan and his friends to DEV-GENC leadership. This section reads:

Assumption of Leadership

"Ertugrul Kurkcu was elected president at the DEV-GENC convention on 17 December 1970 and with this convention Mahir Cayan and his friends became completely dominant in DEV-GENC. Discussions held at the convention reached the conclusion that a militant Marxist-Leninist party should be formed, organized under light of the national democratic revolution, that revolution could not be conducted without proletarian revolutionary organizing, that the class status of the proletariat was not important in the initial stage of organizing and that the class status of the organization would gain importance as ties were established with the masses. The establishment of a militant organization to be formed within the framework of these basics was taken up later and the Turkish People's Liberation Party and Front was formed in fact by Mahir Cayan, Ertugrul Kurkcu, Yusuf Kupeli, Ramazan Munir Aktolga and Kazim Ozudogru."

The indictment contends that the TPLP was a Leninist party founded on the principles of Dialectic and Historic Materialism by Mahir Cayan, the TPLP-F ideologue, and continues: "The revolutionary strategy that the party would apply was defined, pointing out that, acting on the conflicts and relationships of the third period of crisis of imperialism according to the Marxism-Leninism handbook, the reflection of these conflicts and relationships in Turkey and the revolutionary interpretation of the historical, social, economic, political and psychological qualities of our country, the party had set as its revolutionary strategy the strategy of politicized military warfare and that this strategic line was one that takes rural and urban struggle, armed propaganda and other forms of mass political struggle as a whole."

The next section of the indictment quotes passages from Mahir Cayan's books, "Kesintisiz Devrim [Uninterrupted Revolution]-I," "Kesintisiz Devrim-II" and "Kesintisiz Devrim-III," and explains the strategy Cayan envisioned. Stressing that this strategy was the "strategy of politicized military warfare," the indictment says:

"According to the strategy of politicized military warfare, the leading force of revolution is the proletariat, whose fundamental force in turn is the peasantry. It is not important in the preliminary stage of warfare whether the combatants are radically proletarian or not. The important thing is that the combatants be professional revolutionaries. People's warfare will win victory on the revolutionary foundation of the worker-peasant alliance with the course of conquest to be followed being the cities as the foundation and the rural areas as auxiliary in the first stage, and the rural areas the foundation and the cities the auxiliary in the second stage."

#### 12 March Brought Interruption

The Ankara Revolutionary Way indictment says, "Actions launched in the 1960's and 1970's and intended to change the system of government in the country by armed action were interrupted by the 12 March 1971 intervention."

The indictment then discusses the founding of the Ankara Democratic Cultural Association. It says, "It was observed that as of 1974, the segments that had adopted TPLP-F policy were indecisive and uncertain as to criticism of TPLP-F policy and the stance to be adopted for the future," and offers the following views on the development of DEV-YOL:

"The launching of the Ankara Democratic Association of Higher Learning, founded in Ankara on 8 April 1974 by Etem Kiper, Emin Tanriyar, Tahir Mahir Ozturk, Ahmet Gok, Aykut Basaran, Huseyin Oguz and Kultigin Polat, laid the groundwork for the absorption into this association of the student masses who identified with the Turkish Socialist Worker Party and for renewed impetus to political discussion and debate and provided the opportunity for the formation of groups involved in organizational activities as well as for those who adopted and advocated the views of M. Cayan to initiate ideological activities within the association on behalf of the opposition group. In this way, activities, which had been interrupted as described above, were begun towards realization of the proletarian revolution. This association's activities were banned on 9 December 1974 by the Ankara Martial Law Command under article 3/g of Law No 1402 and the Ankara State Security Court later ruled that the association's officers should be arrested for illegal activities.

#### Establishment of AYOD

"Following the suspension of activities of the Ankara Democratic Association of Higher Learning (ADYOD) and prior to establishment of the Ankara Association of Higher Learning [AYOD] which would be formed later, activities were undertaken to reestablish the association in order to prevent the growing break-down of the attempted centralization of ideological movements and to offer guidance and direction from one headquarters to the independent ideological efforts in each faculty and college and, as one example, a new association was formed on 31 January 1975 under the name Middle East Technical University Student Cultural Association (ODTU-DER) by a founding committee composed of Saffet Atici, Selcuk Ulku, Serafettin Sahin, Altug Taner Akcam and Zadik Bal and including also the defendants Mehmet Ali Yilmaz and Melih Pekdemir. On various occasions, forums, boycotts and ideological educational sessions were arranged at METU [Middle East

Technical University] through this association. However, seeing that this association included only METU students and was inadequate for the organization of students at other faculties and colleges, the need was felt for an organization to reach college youth in Ankara and, acting on this thought, the Ankara Association of Higher Learning was formed on 20 April 1975 by a founding committee composed of Mehmet Karabay, Abdurrahman Atalay, Erdal Yuksel, Atanur Yildirim, Mahmut Esat Guven, Bedat Tuysuzoglu, K. Haldun Hakman, as well as defendants Mehmet Ali Yilmaz and Ali Alfatli. In this way, a group was formed after 1974 in which the majority were people who fully identified with the views and thought of M. Cayan, the leader of TPLP-F policy, and who were committed to this ideology."

[29 Oct 82 p 7]

[Text] Resumption of Centralized Campaign in 1977

The Ankara Revolutionary Way indictment expresses views on efforts to organize youth along the lines of TPLP-F policy.

Organizational efforts and publication activities toward this end are described. The indictment then asserts that the campaign to overthrow the existing government was launched in 1977 and tells how and under what circumstances the magazine DEVrimci YOL [REVOLUTIONARY WAY], the aegis for the formation of the group by the same name which in turn gave its name to the trial, was published.

In explaining the efforts to organize youth along the lines of TPLP-F policy, the indictment points out that there was an attempt to tighten the activities of associations formed for the purpose of organizing youth along the lines of TPLP-F policy such as AYOD, METU Student Cultural Association and the Istanbul Higher Education [Association] and says that in late 1975 defendants Melih Pekdemir, Mehmet Ali Yilmaz, Oguzhan Muftuoglu, Nasuh Mitap, Ali Alfatli and Altug Taner Akcam decided to publish a magazine "for the purpose of ensuring grass-roots organization and instructing youth in and causing them to adopt TPLP-F policy, leading ultimately to the formation of cadres." The indictment asserts that to accomplish this purpose the defendants worked together to prepare the magazine EMPERYALIZME VE OLIGARSIYE KARSI DEVrimci GENCLIK [REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND OLIGARCHY] and that "this publication was intended at the same time to revive the Turkish Revolutionary Youth Federation (DEV-GENC) which was active in the early 1970's and was the hard core and source of militant cadres of the armed rebellion." The indictment then expresses these views:

"Also about this time, debate resumed, owing to the rapid regrouping that occurred, over the causes of the 1971 defeat and what course should be followed for the future and it is seen, as a consequence, that certain groups published other magazines to explain their differing opinions and broke off from the TPLP/F-Revolutionary Youth axis.

"Defendants Oguzhan Muftuoglu, Nasuh Mitap, Melih Pekdemir and Mehmet Ali Yilmaz met periodically during 1976 to evaluate the Revolutionary Youth Movement nationwide and, as they found as a result of their discussions that the ideological struggle would be given added strength if disparate efforts were bound to a strong central authority and organized in this manner, they joined with active

organizations around the country that had adopted the TPLP-F policy and were ready for ideological warfare in preliminary efforts to combine the capacity for revolutionary action of all youth and to ensure that this broadly-based potential for mass action would participate in actions and, finally, on 9 August 1976, the Ankara Association of Higher Learning, the Istanbul Association of Higher Learning and the Erzurum Association of Higher Learning became organized under the name Federation of Revolutionary Youth Associations in such a way as to have a fully nationwide effort. Among the founders were defendants Mehmet Ali Yilmaz, Halil Yasin Ketenoglu and Ugur Ayken, and defendant Mehmet Ali Yilmaz became president of this organization, Bulent Uluer became secretary and Sedat Kesim (an Istanbul Revolutionary Way defendant) became treasurer.

#### Declaration

"Meanwhile, realizing that the magazine REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND OLIGARCHY could not address a nationwide base to the extent desired and was not a vehicle to speak to the masses other than the youth sector, defendants Oguzhan Muftuoglu, Melih Pekdemir, Mehmet Ali Yilmaz, Nasuh Mitap, Ali Baspinar, Ali Alfatli, Sedat Kesim, Sedat Gocmen, Mehmet Akin Dirik and Selahattin Karatas met in small groups for discussion and, in accordance with the decision adopted, planned to establish an organization to publish a new magazine and distribute it throughout Turkey and also to publish a declaration of intent, explaining to the pro-TPLP-F sector that this magazine was to be an ideological and political fore-runner to the establishment of a nationwide Marxist-Leninist party.

"A meeting was held at the home of defendant Selahattin Karatas attended by other defendants Oguzhan Muftuoglu, Nasuh Mitap, Ali Baspinar, Sedat Kesim, Ali Alfatli, Sedat Gocmen, Melih Pekdemir, Mehmet Ali Yilmaz and Mehmet Akin Dirik at which they decided to draw up a discussion platform for the bulletin they intended to publish. A draft of the declaration was then prepared along the lines of these defendants' views and submitted for debate, criticisms were collected and defendants Oguzhan Muftuoglu and Nasuh Mitap then worked together to polish the final form, and it was published in April 1977."

#### 1977 Campaign

The Ankara Revolutionary Way indictment asserts that the defendants studied the government formed in the summer of 1977, its policy and the consequences of that policy and reached a decision to launch a campaign to overthrow the Turkish government in general and to set up resistance committees.

The indictment claims that defendants Oguzhan Muftuoglu, Nasuh Mitap and Melih Pekdemir were in charge of theory and policy for the magazine REVOLUTIONARY WAY and Mehmet Akin Dirik and Selami Sakiroglu, who is at large, were in charge of printing. Noting that distribution was at first the responsibility of Selahattin Karatas and Osman Tayfun and that the magazine was distributed for the first time at the Confederation of Revolutionary Worker Unions rally held at Istanbul's Taksim Square on 1 May 1977, the indictment continues:

## REVOLUTIONARY WAY Magazine

"The first issue of the magazine explained under the heading "On Beginning Publication" the reasons for publishing the magazine and the work it would do, stating that the purpose for publishing was to rally the working class and a Unified Revolutionary Movement around the Revolutionary Way view, that the abuse of theory and the intimidation, submissiveness and indecisiveness created by defeat in the post-12 March atmosphere of confusion and dispersal had brought about a climate to lend strength to rightist trends and, stressing from this standpoint that it was necessary to put on the agenda the problem of rallying and unifying the Revolutionary Movement, to create for this purpose a militant party as a means of struggle for political power by the working class, that this party be built on Marxist-Leninist ideological foundations and that it be an ideological struggle conducted within ideological unity, pointing out that the formation of political unity of the working class could be brought about, above all, by an organized struggle conducted by conscious and determined revolutionaries, that the magazine REVOLUTIONARY WAY would serve this purpose, clarifying theoretical problems of the Turkish revolution for resolving problems of policy, and that the Revolutionary Way would be mapped by those who fought against the real atmosphere of imperialism and fascism for the liberation of the working class and the proletariat.

"It was observed in the examination of all issues of the magazine that it hewed to this line in all publications.

## Opposition to Price Increases

"At the conclusion of a meeting held by defendants Oguzhan Muftuoglu, Mehmet Ali Yilmaz, Nasuh Mitap, Ali Alfatli, Ali Baspinar, Sedat Gocmen, Melih Pekdemir, Mehmet Akin Dirik and Sedat Kesim to evaluate the structure of the government formed in the summer of 1977, its economic policy and consequent public reaction, they assessed the situation and decided as a result to set up Resistance Committees throughout Turkey and launch a campaign to overthrow the existing government, to print posters protesting the government and its price increases as a means of mobilizing resistance among the masses and to back them up with leaflets and special issues of the magazine, to arrange educational seminars and conferences on organizational structure and to hold illegal rallies. To carry out these ideas, persons were designated to direct these actions locally and they continued to engage in these actions until the government changed at the end of 1977, defendants remaining in the capital had the task of formulating policy to be passed on to the rank and file and offering guidance through directives, and organizational expenses incurred were defrayed by money collected as the result of regional activities. Thus the first attempt at centralization was carried out in this way in the TPLP/F-Revolutionary Way movement."

After touching on the nationwide campaigns, the indictment explains that "towards the end of 1977, differences of opinion appeared in the direction of TPLP/F-Revolutionary Way ideology during activities under the guise of the Revolutionary Youth Associations" and says that differences emerged between the Ankara and Istanbul branches of the Federation of Revolutionary Youth Associations.

[30 Oct 82 p 7]

[Text] Second Centralized Campaign Following DEV-SOL Split

The DEV-YOL indictment explains how a group in Istanbul split off and formed a new organization named DEV-SOL [Revolutionary Left] and describes DEV-YOL's subsequent course of development.

The indictment reads as follows on this topic:

"It is seen that towards the end of 1977, differences of opinion appeared in the direction of TPLP/F-Revolutionary Way ideology during activities under the guise of the Federation of Revolutionary Youth Associations and, in particular, persons heading the Istanbul Branch of the Federation of Revolutionary Youth Associations who had first advocated formation of the structure and later publication of the magazine were the leaders in forming this faction, claiming that the Ankara group had gone beyond this theory advocated earlier and set up a separate organization, and said that they had been given no leadership and control tasks and felt they were not trusted and had begun the opposition for this reason; the true cause of the split, however, was said to be that those in the leadership position, though seeming to advocate M. Cayan's concept of the TPLP-F and armed struggle, interpreted it in their own way, basing the Resistance Committees on the broad masses, thus extending the organizational struggle to the rank and file, and this idea and theory was said to be considered contrary to the principle of the leadership war.

"Within the framework of these ideas, Dursun Karatas, Pasa Guven, Huseyin Solgun, Bulent Uluer and about 40 sympathizers met in mid-1978 at the Istanbul Technical University Association, declared that they thought Marxist-Leninist ideology different from Revolutionary Way ideology and, in a brochure entitled "Liquidation and the Revolutionary Line," proclaimed their split from the Revolutionary Way and the formation of the Revolutionary Left organization, and they began to rally their old rank and file around the new organization.

"Owing to the dissolution of the Federation of Revolutionary Youth Associations with the split of the Revolutionary Left, defendants Ziya Uncu, Hasan Baki Kurtoglu, Turan Tantoglu, along with Tevfik Dogan Toker, Huseyin Duyar, Nizamettin Orhangazi, Ismail Ayar and Salih Erer formed the Ankara Revolutionary Youth Association (Ankara DEV-GENC) on 22 June 1978 to allow the exact retention within the youth sector of the political ideology of that dissolved association, with control completely dictated by Revolutionary Way policy in parallel with the bylaws of the dissolved federation. The task of directing the association was given to defendants Halil Yasin Ketenoglu and Bulent Forta.

"Taking on the task in the youth sector of Ankara Province as well as in the urban units, the DEV-GENC leaders were charged with forming a rank and file in keeping with the Revolutionary Way ideology and staffing the Resistance Committees in the urban units, as well as supplying the militants needed for the Armed Resistance Units, and they later conducted these affairs through the Ankara Provincial and Urban Committee which was formed in late 1978."

The indictment explains that TPLP-F policy and ideology had spread nationwide by mid-1978, that efforts were being made to establish a Marxist-Leninist order and that the factional elements gathered under the Revolutionary Left banner had been removed completely from the organizational structure. The indictment describes subsequent developments in this way:

"By mid-1978, the TPLP/F-Revolutionary Way policy and ideology had developed at the national level, efforts had been made towards the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist order and, as the factional elements gathered under the name Revolutionary Left had been completely purged from the organizational structure, a system along the ideological line advocated and desired had now been established in the capital with a network of advisors fanning out to various areas of the country and, when the Kahramanmaraş incidents occurred in late 1978 by which time the mass resistance and action campaigns required by the organizational structure were slowly taking shape, the leaders scattered in various regions of the country were summoned to the capital for discussions to devise the policy to be pursued vis-a-vis this new emerging situation and it was decided, taking into account general opinion and observations, to proceed with a precision organizational structure on the order of the trend demonstrated in earlier, periodic discussions toward dissemination and development of TPLP/F-Revolutionary Way ideology at the grassroots level and, as the result of meetings held periodically in small groups and attended by defendants Oğuzhan Muftuoğlu, Nasuh Mitap, Ali Başpinar, Melih Pekdemir, Ali Alfatlı, Mehmet Ali Yılmaz, Sedat Kesim, Selahattin Karataş, Sedat Göçmen and Mehmet Akin Dirik, principles were decided upon for the centralization of the organization and its operational methods, which may be summarized as:

--Establishment of a coordination council (Central Committee) to conduct central activities,

--Formation of a disciplined organizational structure with communications between headquarters and the tiniest unit in the field,

--Observance of maximum secrecy in organizational endeavors,

--Systematic conduct of communications between headquarters and the field.

"The regional officers assigned in this connection were: defendant Sedat Göçmen, Black Sea Region; defendant Ali Alfatlı, Aegean Region; defendant Selahattin Karataş, Central Anatolia Region; Sedat Kesim, İstanbul and vicinity; Oğuzhan Muftuoğlu, Nasuh Mitap, Mehmet Ali Yılmaz and Ali Başpinar comprised the central committee; Melih Pekdemir and Mehmet Akin Dirik were assistants to the central committee; Melih Pekdemir was in charge of the magazine REVOLUTIONARY WAY; and Mehmet Dirik was in charge of the printing and distribution of this magazine and internal and external communications.

"Following the centralization of the organization, illegal endeavors were guided by the central committee, initially comprised of four persons, but brought to five with the addition of defendant Ali Alfatlı from the Aegean Region in April 1979 and then to seven when defendants Melih Pekdemir and Mehmet Akin Dirik joined it early in 1980."

[31 Oct 82 p 7]

[Text] DEV-YOL Hierarchy, Turkish Zonal Divisions

The DEV-YOL indictment describes certain consequences of DEV-YOL's form of organization throughout Turkey. It notes that the DEV-YOL organization consisted of a number of units organized in a hierarchy from the top down. The indictment says there was a central committee in the capital staffed by the defendants who guided the organization and also a general committee consisting of a broader cadre which also included the central committee. The Revolutionary Way organization is described unit by unit as follows:

"Turkey was divided into regions, headquarters were designated in these regions and regional committees subordinate to the central committee were formed to carry out the work. Each region was divided into subregions which in turn were divided into units, the chain of command organized in a hierarchy.

"Central Committee:

"The highest-level decision-making body of the organization which set TPLP/F- Revolutionary Way policy, ensured its implementation consistently at the national level and, at the same time, guided and supervised the endeavors of units such as the popular committees, that is, regional committees and provincial committees, and performed the task of inter-committee liaison and cooperation at the national level.

"Its membership was not limited to a specific number from its inception and the original four members later increased to seven.

"For the division of labor within the Central Committee, units were formed under the names policy-theory bureau, military wing organization, organization secretariat and press-publications-foreign bureau.

"As decisions were made by the Central Committee, no member was superior to another.

"Policy-Theory Bureau:

"A unit tasked with organizational policy and ideology towards the goal of overthrowing the state by force and replacing it with democratic government of the people consisting of the worker-peasant alliance and of which Marxist-Leninist ideology formed the core.

"Military Organization:

"A unit of the organization which worked to raise the consciousness of the people along the lines of Revolutionary Way ideology and undertook actions for the purpose of creating armed popular revolt to bring about a Marxist-Leninist system of government in the country and which operated under the name Revolutionary War Units, organized on a cell basis under the responsibility of one Central Committee member and authorized to carry out assaults on public servants and individuals

designated as fascists, armed robbery to provide income and bombings for sensational purposes and to make independent decisions on actions on behalf of the organization. It would make use of the revolutionary intelligence organization in its assault operations in particular.

"Organization Secretariat:

"A unit which ensured the activation of regional committees, provincial committees, resistance committees and armed resistance units, ensured inter-regional cooperation, supervised these units and operated under the responsibility of one, or the shared responsibility of two, Central Committee members. It was also tasked with conveying headquarters decisions to the regions for implementation and receiving activity reports from the organization's regional officers.

"Press-Publications and Foreign Relations Unit:

"Tasked with the preparation, design, printing and national distribution of literature such as magazines, leaflets, posters and brochures published in order to disseminate among the people the organization's goals and ideology. The unit's officer was also in charge of the organization's foreign communications, which will be discussed in a separate section below.

"General Committee:

"A top-level body which discussed the organization's problems and policy in an advisory capacity and made recommendations. The General Committee consisted of the Central Committee members, regional committee officers and those militants having the theoretical awareness to solve ideological and political problems. Organizational problems were usually discussed in groups of three to five people rather than a meeting of all members and the ideas worked out were forwarded to the Central Committee. The task of arranging General Committee meetings and directing its discussions belonged to the organization secretariat.

"Regional Committees:

"Consisted of militants in the regions designated by the Central Committee, regional officers and other organization militants in the units. Regional officers were designated by the Central Committee. Regional committees implemented policy and specific decisions made by the Central Committee, bearing in mind regional characteristics, and, in order to carry out regional assignments, set up and supervised other subunits such as provincial committees, district committees, ward committees, youth committees and worker and civil servant committees. They were also responsible for coordination among them.

"Regional officers carried out instructions received from headquarters and had the authority to give the necessary organizational instructions to those concerned for local actions deemed appropriate.

"In organizational activities and carrying out actions, local military teams were formed taking regional characteristics into account. These were subordinate to the regional officer and usually superior to other local operatives in the hierarchy.

"The militants who, together with intelligence agents, directed the worker, youth, civil servant and teacher sectors in regional activities took different tasks and, in forming the resistance committees and armed resistance units, militants capable of dealing with the people's educational and social problems ideologically were assigned in these units alongside someone who could handle the organization's financial problems. The organization's regional officers were in charge of supervising and coordinating all endeavors in the region, coordinating with other regions and reporting the results to the organization secretariat.

"Ward officers in the regions were responsible, in addition to purging the neighborhoods of ideological opponents, for drawing a complete chart of the ward, locating warehouses, arsenals and the home addresses of important public servants of opposing views, obtaining weapons insofar as possible, standing guard duty against raids, providing safehouses for wanted organizational militants from elsewhere, as well as robbing businesses to obtain income for the organization. They used local elements in accomplishing these things."

The indictment says that the central committee divided Turkey into organizational units of Istanbul, Thrace, Marmara, Aegean, Black Sea, Central Anatolia, Cukurova, Malatya, Elazig, Kars, Erzurum, Antalya and environs and Ankara. It says that as an indication of their importance, the Revolutionary Way's Ankara and Istanbul Regions were organized differently.

[1 Nov 82 p 7]

[Text] Armed Committees for Deployment Against Army

The indictment in the Ankara Revolutionary Way trial says, "Resistance committees were formed for the purpose of turning anti-fascist tendencies into a revolutionary resistance struggle."

After explaining DEV-YOL's ideology and development, the indictment describes the organization of resistance committees. It explains the purpose for founding the resistance committees and discusses them at length. The indictment reads as follows on the resistance committees:

"The Resistance Committees were established for the purpose of turning the growing popular anti-fascist tendencies into a revolutionary resistance struggle.

"Resistance committees operated in many regions and were planned with the intention of:

"--Forming the source of an armed resistance front comprised of the people for use in offensive and defensive operations intended to destroy the regime,

"--Forming the nucleus of a revolutionary government of the people,

"--Using them in resistance against fascist attacks and in attacks acting on the theory that the best defense is to eliminate the aggressor,

"--Seizing power bit by bit over a long period of time by means of these committees, intended to be made up of the people, and converting them into an alternative to the state structure, having them become a partnership government and the organ for government of the people,

"--Acclimating the people to the communal society that would come into being after the revolution and providing for this society to be experienced in the neighborhoods prior to the transition to this order,

"--Allowing the people to govern themselves, if only in local units, thus creating the idea that the central government was unnecessary and meaningless, and, as a result, allowing the thought to take root that they should not fulfill their obligations to the state.

"Propaganda used during the start-up stage of the resistance committees was such economic, social and other cultural factors as the squalor stemming from the failure to provide full social services to the squatters' areas in the large cities; land distribution, education and health problems in the rural areas; and wage differences among workers. The resistance committees, promising that these problems would be solved and usually operating under the name 'people's committee,' made extensive use in locales such as workplaces, schools, neighborhoods and villages not only of militants who advocated their ideological views, but also of people who raised no objections to their ideas.

"If a main committee in a region or unit found it appropriate to form various sub-units and task forces subordinate to itself, it was organized accordingly. As a result, the participation of as many people as possible in the struggle was ensured and public interest was kept alive.

"In particular, regional subcommittees were formed, and main committees in regions of a given size later evolved, comprised of representatives of the regional subcommittees. In this way, though meetings covering an entire region were held and the functioning and continuity of these meetings were maintained, the main committee retained its secrecy.

"The resistance committees were usually organized as a microcosm of the system of government it was desired to institute and, as such, included units such as armed resistance units and financial, legal, propaganda, cultural, education and intelligence committees.

#### Educational Efforts

"Educational efforts were stressed in the structure of the resistance committees and were dealt with as a comprehensive problem. Enlightening the people on matters pertaining to the struggle against fascism and explaining the revolutionary movement were treated as an aspect of the educational task, social and cultural activities held an important place in the educational efforts, and tendencies among the people toward solidarity and mutual aid in all things were particularly encouraged and developed."

### Armed Resistance Committees

The indictment asserts that armed resistance committees were formed also and says they were formed "for the purpose of building a revolutionary people's army for use against the army of the Republic." The indictment then describes the resistance committees as follows:

"Resistance committees were formed for use in operational tasks such as arming the public and creating armed resistance units under the supervision of trained militants for the purpose of ensuring the formation of a revolutionary people's army for deployment against the army of the Republic in the strategic attack stage, protecting the regions acquired during the party-formation stage from, and staging resistance against, fascist attack and having them participate in local robberies.

"The armed resistance units were special task forces under the resistance committees, and each resistance committee usually had special task forces of this type.

"The armed resistance units, set up under the resistance committees to carry out military activities, later acted as military units in their own right with a chain of command. The organization of the armed resistance units was the kind of military organization that develops from the bottom up, that is to say, from the lower echelon to the upper echelons. The armed resistance units were centralized, armed hit and robbery squads in the local formations under the command of militants chosen by the [regional] officers and who were in the highest positions of responsibility in that region.

"The matters described above concerning regional committees, resistance committees and armed resistance units were confirmed by the contents of hand-written documents seized at the home of defendant Melih Pekdemir."

### Revolutionary Intelligence Organization

The establishment of the "Revolutionary Intelligence Organization" is assessed in the indictment as "having a short-term goal of identifying and neutralizing those individuals and entities acting to prevent the development and success of the Revolutionary Way organization, in short, those called fascist, and having a long-term goal of devising the action to take against these individuals and entities in a possible civil war in the future and forming the nucleus of the state archives to be established when success was achieved." The indictment also says that the Revolutionary Intelligence Organization (DIT) was established pursuant to a decision by the members of the organization's central committee to establish an intelligence unit.

[2 Nov 82 p 7]

[Text] Intelligence Organization, Elite Militaristic Core

The indictment in the Ankara DEV-YOL trial contains detailed information on two important units of the organization known as the Revolutionary Intelligence Organization (DIT) and the Revolutionary War Units.

The following paragraphs are taken from the discussion of the DIT in the indictment:

"The DIT, attached to the central committee's military wing officer, conducted its activities by means of one officer at the head and agents subordinate to him.

"When the military wing officer, having the authority to act independently, decided on a robbery, he had someone other than the DIT officer collect the intelligence on that location, but on deciding that someone should be killed he requested information on that person from the Revolutionary Intelligence Organization and had the information, sometimes obtained by the officer himself and sometimes by his agents, forwarded to him.

"Intelligence collected in connection with robberies made it possible to set the best time for carrying out the action and that collected on individuals made it possible to set the best time and circumstances for the hit by gathering information on an individual's physical description, job, home and work addresses, automobile license plate number, times of arrival and departure at home and work and places frequented. In fact, many of the murders, attempted murders and thefts described in the incidents section of the indictment were carried out as the result of this intelligence.

"The archive which was initially compiled in 1978 consisting of three or four file folders of news clippings and pictures from AYDINLIK newspaper on counter-guerrilla activities and the NAP was expanded after September 1979, information was entered alphabetically by last name into notebooks and later transferred to a flagged card-file system.

"Overt and covert sources were used in obtaining information.

#### Overt, Covert Sources

"Overt sources consisted of information from daily newspapers, addresses and pictures obtained from yearbooks such as the Bar Association Yearbook, telephone directories, official journals reporting civil service appointments and election statistics from the State Statistical Institute showing the votes received by NAP candidates by district.

"To locate personal residences of individuals whose names did not appear on their homes, their electric meter numbers were obtained and identified by means of an organization member employed at the Electric Power, Gas and Bus Administration.

"Job locations and addresses of active and retired civil servants and photographs of certain NAP members were obtained through an agent at the Retirement Fund.

"Covert activities took the same form as these overt activities.

"Documents found in the Revolutionary Intelligence Organization archive include special security instructions flagged 'Confidential' belonging to the Naval Command Headquarters, keys for deciphering the 'Lewis Carroll,' 'Play Fair,' 'Porta' and 'Soviet Intelligence' codes and intelligence resulting from them,

notes showing the organization's prevalence status in the provinces and districts and measures to be taken on the basis of such status (for instance: Zonguldak - worsening, measures; Bafra-Samsun - special attention to fascist growth, military measures; Carsamba - conflict proceeding, political work; Unye - will fall completely with the aid of Fatsa; Trabzon - military action; Erzincan - lost; Elazig-Malatya-Kayseri - armed action; Yozgat - must transfer aid from rural to urban area; Burdur-Isparta-Afyon - abandoned; Bursa - very weak; Kutahya - quiet; Bafra-Corum-Tokat-Fatsa quadrangle - must be military action region; Tokat - access will be via Amasya-Turhal Road), maps drawn and notated on the basis of these notes and a name list of the 27 members of the NAP general executive board."

#### Revolutionary War Units

The indictment asserts that in organizing the Revolutionary War units "the most capable and knowledgeable theoreticians among the militants" were selected and notes that these units were an armed military organization. The indictment reveals on this topic that the "Revolutionary War Units were an armed military organization consisting of disciplined professional militants intended to form the nucleus of future guerrilla armies and were directed as an independent unit separate from the armed resistance units and attached directly to headquarters." The indictment reads:

"The Revolutionary War units were formed and assigned tasks for the purpose of creating the nucleus of the guerrilla armies to be formed in the future for deployment against the armed forces of the state, whose destruction was desired, as well as to provide for central expenditures in the period until the guerrilla armies were in place by performing armed robberies and to carry out sensational crimes to capture public attention.

"Secrecy was highly guarded in this organization and the cell system of operations was chosen. Decision-making authority for actions resided in the military wing officer for Turkey in general and the unit chiefs."

[3 Nov 82 p 7]

#### [Text] Ankara Organization, Foreign Connections

The DEV-YOL indictment proceeds with information on the organization's Ankara set-up and connections abroad.

#### Revolutionary Way Ankara Organization

"The Revolutionary Way headquarters and its Ankara organization were usually run as one and the same. The organizational structure in Ankara was different from the other units and its organization activities were therefore arranged accordingly.

"The Ankara provincial committee was active in organizing DEV-GENC, the urban precincts, the civil servant-engineering sector and teachers.

"Units were also formed to maintain contact with associations and public and professional organizations. Furthermore, Ankara was divided into two zones militarily, consisting of an eastern zone and a western zone.

--Ankara Provincial Committee

"This committee consisted of militants who were also members of the central committee. Decisions of the central committee were therefore implemented quickly in this unit where control and hierarchical discipline were strong.

--DEV-GENC Organization

"In addition to its activities in guiding the youth sector towards the organization's ends, it was also involved in activities to expand the theoretical and practical knowledge of the masses and for the training and inclusion in the organization of individuals as street, precinct and regional officers. The associations established behind a legal facade usually conducted illegal activities also. By directing its activities toward the youth sector, it also recruited militants for the organization.

--Precinct, Regional Organization

"Squatters' areas were chosen as areas of activity for the organization and stress was placed on organizing them. Individual unit officers were assigned first in Incirli and its environs, Sentepe and its environs, Haskoy and its environs and Tuzlucayir, Yenidogan and Tepecik.

"In later years, Ankara precinct and provincial organizing was attached directly to the organization secretariat.

--Relations with Professional Organizations

"By being active in the organizational efforts of such associations as TOB-DER [Turkish Teachers' Unity and Solidarity Association], the Comprehensive Civil Service Unity and Mutual Solidarity Association, the Universal Technical Workers Association, the Comprehensive Health Personnel Unity and Solidarity Association, KARMEN-DER [expansion unknown], the Turkish Union of Chambers of Architects and Engineers, People's Houses and People's Chambers, it was hoped to gain control of their administration, and efforts were also made to have a common stance adopted in activities of all kinds.

"Revolutionary Way militants and persons who advocated this view were elected to administrative positions of organizations of this type, and propaganda along the lines of the organization's ideological policy was disseminated at meetings, seminars and conferences.

"By directing propaganda on the organization's views and goals towards those teachers influential in the educational services at the national level, special emphasis was placed on winning this segment of the public over to the Revolutionary Way organization. In this context, great pains were taken to get the

TOB-DER administration under the guidance of Revolutionary Way militants, some of the defendants were elected to the general executive board of this association and, in this way, some success, albeit partial, was achieved from the organizational aspect.

"Organization militants were placed inside the state enterprises and councils in order to obtain the information and documents, materials and supplies needed from these organizations, to gain adherents to DEV-YOL, to divert their material resources to illegal purposes and to raise funds under the guise of collecting dues.

"In this way, the influence of the Revolutionary Way organization was increased in the schools, public and professional organizations and associations and the participation of many people was assured in the mass actions it arranged such as rallies and demonstration marches."

The indictment then discusses the armed organization in Ankara. It contends that actions were carried out in Ankara on instructions from the general officers for the eastern and western zones, that the organization in Ankara was first directed by the ward and precinct organizations within the provincial committee, but was later attached to the central committee and directed by the organization secretariat. [The indictment reads:]

"Altug Taner Akcam, who was originally subordinate to a member of the central committee, was later attached to the central committee's political bureau and worked with the officer in charge of the press-publications and foreign communications bureau.

"They ensured communications through the exchange of letters and couriers that travelled in and out of the country and conveyed information to each other in the form of reports on DEV-YOL activities in Turkey and West Germany and events which occurred.

"REVOLUTIONARY WAY magazine, brochures and leaflets published by the organization were sent to Altug Taner Akcam and, through the Emek Distribution Company, to five different headquarters active abroad under the guise of labor associations.

"Reports sent from home were published in the bulletin named TURKIYE'DEN HABERLER [NEWS FROM TURKEY]-TURKEI INFORMATION and the newspaper DEVRIMCI ISCI [REVOLUTIONARY WORKER] issued in Germany. They were also given to the Turkish desk of the German branch of Amnesty International in an effort to launch a campaign and, by establishing relations with West German writers and members of parliament, to gain their support also.

"Educational efforts were made and conferences arranged in cities such as Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg and Dresden.

--Pirate Radio

"Efforts were made after 12 September 1980 to bring in the equipment needed to set up a radio station in Turkey for pirate broadcasts of the organization's views, but this attempt was unsuccessful.

"Five small hand-written pages of notes found among other documents following the arrest of defendant Melih Pekdemir were understood to contain information extracted from a letter sent to him from West Germany, and expert analysis determined that the hand-writing was his.

"These notes read in part: 'Strength of movement shifted to Europe...World Council of Churches supports us. Support terrific, we will even discontinue sending delegation. Don't be surprised if we get Turkey thrown out of European community. We have a request from you. There is a big press conference on 21 February. One thing is missing there, we notice. Information: post-junta torture information. We have sent word a hundred times, but we still have zilch. The Cypriots are coming. We will discuss the Palestinian business. I am sending money in February. We will give you the radio information and address, you will buy. Amnesty International in Ankara. Next few days are crammed. Motion for questioning in European Parliament was presented. Radio info: broadcasts on UKW(FM), shipping weight is 20 kg. Location in city impossible, but range can extend to 100 km if 800 m higher than tallest building. You must let us know in advance the distance over which broadcast will be made because special parts must be bought and mounted. It has a "meter" to change the frequency...beyond a given distance. Around 3,000 marks. A good radio operator is a must. He will be taught how broadcasting is to be done. But he should come to France. Otherwise, if you buy the set and say we should try it here once or twice, there is no problem. It takes three radar vans to locate it and they can do it in 5 minutes. There are almost none of these vans even in France, but there are a lot of them in Germany. We have the radio diagram. If there is an address, I will send it. I await your reply and any questions.'

"The organization's activities abroad and attempt to set up a pirate radio station were thus confirmed by these confiscated notes."

[4 Nov 82 p 7]

[Text] People's War Strategy, Publishing Activities

The indictment in the Ankara Revolutionary Way trial asserts that the Revolutionary Way organization intended to dismantle the state and replace it with a proletarian dictatorship based on Marxist-Leninist ideology, eventually progressing to communism.

The indictment then has several sections describing the revolutionary strategy adopted by DEV-YOL, summarizing the goals and strategy in this way: "The artificial balance between the ruling classes and the people based on oppression and terror would be eliminated by the vanguard war to be conducted by militants after establishment of the proletarian party, after which the people would become more active in the leadership of the vanguard-militant proletarian party and revolt against the existing order." The stages of the people's war strategy which would then be initiated are described as follows:

"First Stage: Strategic defense stage. In this stage, since the people's revolutionary forces are initially weak and the country under the secret occupation of imperialism, strength will be gained by fighting to weaken counterrevolutionary forces. While gaining strength and laying the groundwork for future

development under leadership of the proletarian party, the defense of the people will also be taken on, attacks will be arranged against the fascist forces including the official and civilian forces of the state, which are the elements preventing revolution, and murder, armed robbery, shooting and arson will be used when necessary. The vanguard war, which will be directed by the proletarian party in the cities in the first phase of this period because the country's working class is more important according to the classic theory of people's warfare in which the cities are basic and the rural areas of secondary importance, will provide for the organization of the masses by means of armed propaganda and the basic goal in this stage will be to weaken the counterrevolutionary forces.

"Second Stage: Strategic balance stage. The goal in this stage is to bring state forces and revolutionary forces into balance, shifting to all-out armed action by means of the people's army formed between that time and the defeat of the counterrevolutionary forces.

"Third Stage: Strategic attack stage. Includes the period between the achievement of balance and the seizure of political power. It is intended during this period that the people be armed and set in revolt against the existing order, that the existing order and all its leaders be eliminated and that the state be dismantled and replaced with a proletarian dictatorship based on Marxist-Leninist ideology, eventually progressing to the communist order."

#### DEMOKRAT Newspaper

The indictment also discusses the organization's publishing and propaganda activities. It says there was an archive of photographs taken by organization members and used during the printing of certain journals.

This section describes the publications that DEV-YOL issued, then mentions the newspaper DEMOKRAT. These passages are taken from that section of the indictment:

"After the publication and distribution of the magazine REVOLUTIONARY WAY was banned in certain provinces by the Martial Law Commands, it was printed and distributed secretly in order that its purpose might be conveyed to the people even during this period. In addition, ideological works, pirate publications named DEVRIMCI OGRETMEN [REVOLUTIONARY TEACHER], ISCILERIN SESI [VOICE OF THE WORKER] and DEVRIMCI GENCLIK [REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH], and 4-5-page bulletins and brochures were published.

"It was decided that, in addition to these publications described, the organization should offer financial support to a daily newspaper published in Turkey and that, with its aid, the organization's position on daily events could be reported and the public informed of its activities through the legally-published newspaper DEMOKRAT and, pursuant to the central committee's decision, contact was made with the officers of this newspaper and 8 million liras were transferred to the officers for this purpose."

The indictment says that to achieve its proclaimed goal, the Revolutionary Way organization moved into publishing "to increase its supporters as soon as possible to prove the weakness and powerlessness of the state and to increase the

people's dissatisfaction with the existing order." It notes further that in addition to these publishing activities, DEV-YOL also engaged extensively in propaganda activities. It reads:

"In this context, the organization, in compliance with central committee decisions and instructions, arranged rallies both with permits and without including a nationwide anti-fascism and cost-of-living protest in January 1978, a protest on 23-24 December 1978 in 13 of our large provinces against price increases and the antiterrorism laws as oppression of the people, protests in 1979-1980 against the 30-31 March Kizildere incidents and a protest against the raids on terrorist centers by State Security Forces in Fatsa in August 1980. It conducted verbal propaganda to promote its ideological views, such as scrawling graffiti, distributing leaflets, holding wildcat marches, writing articles and putting up booby-trapped and unbooby-trapped posters, and armed propaganda, such as murder and theft. In addition, it arranged demonstrations and marches at the funerals of slain terrorists and on matters of concern to the local people in connection, for example, with tea producers in Rize, cotton producers in Saraykoy and tobacco producers in Ege.

"Photographs taken by organization members during propaganda activities were sent to the organization's top administrators and filed, and this evidence, which had been used in the printing of some magazines, was recovered from the places it had been hidden by organization members.

"Even after the 12 September 1980 intervention, they continued their ideological propaganda activities along the guidelines set forth in a brochure published by the central committee on ideological struggle, proceeding in particular with anti-administration activities in Ankara in keeping with the organization's goals, as well as wildcat demonstrations, graffiti, writing articles, putting up booby-trapped and unbooby-trapped posters, baiting and engaging in armed clashes with security forces, theft and anti-capital punishment protests."

[5 Nov 82 p 7]

[Text] Financing, Arms Procurement

The indictment in the Ankara Revolutionary Way trial states that robberies were staged and businesses were set up to strengthen the organization's financial status.

The indictment lists as follows the Revolutionary Way organization's sources of arms and income:

"Various sources were used to procure income for the Revolutionary Way organization. It has been determined that these sources ensured the financial strengthening of the DEV-YOL organization and consisted in general of income:

"1. In the form of dues and donations collected from civil servants, youth, workers and teachers,

"2. Collected from the public on behalf of the organization,

"3. Obtained from the sale of magazines and other literature.

"4. Acquired through the commercial relationship established with the cooperatives and assistance funds in the public enterprises,

"5. Obtained from the commercial activities of businesses opened on behalf of the organization,

"6. Acquired as the result of armed robbery.

"A large portion of the income from these sources was used in the organization's arms purchases, and other organizational expenses such as home and business rentals, expenditures for the legal defense of arrested organization members, personal expenses, printing and publication expenses and vehicle purchases were also met by this income.

"Millions of liras were collected from civil servants, workers, students and the youth sector.

"Large sums in dues and donations were collected from teachers and the residents of squatters' areas.

"In addition to the money forwarded to the central committee by the regional committees, there were also millions in currency originating abroad sent on behalf of the organization by people employed in foreign countries.

"Moreover, a great deal of income derived from the sale on behalf of the organization of printed matter such as books and magazines. This income was controlled by the relevant central committee members of the DEV-YOL organization.

"Commercial relations were established between consumer cooperatives and aid funds at public enterprises and the Revolutionary Way organization, as explained in the section on the defendants concerned, and the organization received the profits derived from the sale of nearly 9 million liras' worth of goods to the cooperatives and aid funds of the public enterprises by dummy companies set up to conceal their commercial earnings.

"Various businesses were opened to procure financial resources for the organization and the income derived from these business activities was collected by the defendants so assigned on the organization's central committee.

"A portion of the organization's financial resources consisted of the income derived from approximately 100 businesses opened in the Ankara Region, such as a firewood and coal dealer on Second Avenue in Demirciler Complex, the System Accounting Bureau on Sehit Adem Yavuz Street, the Isisan Bureau at 22/13 Yuksel Avenue, a fruit stand at 142/7 Dikmen Avenue, a milling shop on Plevne Street in Aktas, the Accounting Bureau on Meliha Eldem Street, the Architectural Bureau on Akay Avenue, a record store on Halit Ziya Street in Yukariayranci, a perfume shop on Cevre Street in Cankaya, a customs office, the Basak Insurance Agency, the Topography Bureau and the Advertising Bureau on Tunali Hilmi Avenue.

"Students at certain institutions of higher learning stole equipment used in their courses such as turn benches, oscilloscopes and voltmeters for use in the businesses run on behalf of the organization.

"This income consisting of millions of liras obtained from various sources was collected by the relevant persons on the organization's central committee and used to defray organization expenses."

The indictment revealed that information on the organization's arms procurement and operating system and, owing to the secrecy in which arms were kept and moved about, on its sources and stockpile of arms was limited to the statements made by defendants during questioning and the weapons seized during [police] operations and used in the commission of crimes. The indictment makes these charges as to the Revolutionary Way organization's source of arms:

"According to defendants' statements and the information obtained during questioning, two different methods of arms procurement were used. First was activities involving the arms needed by the regions and second was procurement of arms by organization headquarters and on instructions of the military wing officer... 250,000 liras' worth of arms were purchased in a lot from smugglers from the Kastamonu region. Furthermore, in accordance with a central committee decision that the money, amounting to around 14 million liras, acquired in the Tahtakale armed robbery in Istanbul should be used to supply the organization's arms needs, the entire sum was used to buy weapons from arms smugglers which were distributed to the regions and units according to need. It was determined that guns, ammunition, hand grenades and Kalashnikov rifles were obtained from smugglers from Antakya with whom relations were established through certain defendants and that they were distributed as needed by the organization.

"Of the weapons purchased under headquarters directive, obtained by the regions through their own resources or purchased for the use of sympathizers, 30 long-barreled automatics and 286 pistols of various calibers were seized in the Ankara area alone as the result of [police] operations acting on revelations made by the defendants named in the indictment. This figure does not include weapons obtained from defendants in mass and individual suits brought earlier by our prosecutor's office involving the Revolutionary Way organization and whose questioning is still in progress. The arms, ammunition and explosives of the type and in numbers which may be expressed in the thousands which have been seized according to the files in suits involving the same organization brought in various Martial Law regions of the country indicate the importance, and therefore value, which the Revolutionary Way organization placed on arming in order to achieve its goal."

[6 Nov 82 p 7]

[Text] Charges Against Defendants

The indictment in the Ankara Revolutionary Way trial charges the organization members-defendants with 78 murders, 75 attempted murders, 28 thefts and 233 bombings and shooting incidents. The indictment contains this general listing of the actions alleged to have been carried out by DEV-YOL members:

"Public trials have been opened by Martial Law Military Prosecutors involving thousands of actions carried out in the provinces outside Ankara. In addition to these and separate from the organization's 78 murders, 75 attempted murders, 28 thefts and 233 bombings and shooting incidents which are the subject of this indictment alone, public suit was brought in the Martial Law Second Military Court, our Military Prosecutor's indictment reference number 1979/961 dated 15 December 1979, on charges of 25 separate incidents carried out by the same organization within Ankara such as murder, assault, theft and throwing explosives; in the First Military Court, indictment reference number 1980/275 on 17 November 1980, against 74 defendants on 76 different counts of murder, assault, bombing, shooting and theft; and in the First Military Court against 32 defendants with indictment reference number 1980/7557 dated 18 December 1981, against 32 defendants on 15 separate charges with indictment reference number 1980/7603 dated 11 January 1982 and against 39 defendants on 15 separate charges with indictment reference number 1980/7603 dated 11 January 1982 [as published].

"The above figures do not include incidents of murder, assault and bombing which have been carried out by the same organization within Ankara in which suit was brought onseparate indictments, which were differentiated from this trial and in which investigations are now in progress."

The indictment correlates DEV-YOL actions with the policy which guided the organization's activities, asserting that the organization's central committee designed organization policy to be nationwide and ensured that this policy was carried out on a national level. Contending that "to determine the provisions of the law which will apply to the actions of the defendants, it is necessary to explore the Turkey-wide nature of the status, goals, actions and activities of the organization of which they are members," the indictment proceeds to do so in this way:

"The goal of the Revolutionary Way organization, as revealed in detail above, was that the people should be armed against the existing constitutional order and that the state should be dismantled by means of the popular uprising that would occur and be replaced by a proletarian dictatorship based on Marxist-Leninist ideology.

"To achieve this goal, a central committee was established to set the organization's policy Turkey-wide, to ensure that this policy was applied on a national level and to direct its implementation; a general committee was established to advise the central committee, adopt recommendations and forward them to this committee;

"Regional committees were established to implement the policy set by the central committee and its specific decisions as best suited regional characteristics and units were attached to them in charge of such areas as the province, district, ward, youth, civil service and worker sector, each having individualized assignments which they carried out.

"Armed resistance units [were established] to form the nucleus of the Revolutionary People's Army for use in such tasks as protecting secured areas against fascist attack and fending off security forces and to participate in local actions.

### Actions Revealing Organization's Goals

"Revolutionary war units were formed out of the armed resistance units to constitute the nucleus of separate guerrilla armies, consisting of professional militants highly capable in theory and action and assigned such tasks by headquarters as committing armed robbery to cover the organization's expenditures and staging murders, bombings and shootings to create a sensation and make known the organization's intent."

An organization was established under the name Revolutionary Intelligence Organization to neutralize any official or private organizations and individuals attempting to prevent the organization's development and success, which organizations and individuals were described as fascist, to devise the course of action in a future civil war and to compile the core of the archives of the state that would be established when success was achieved. Information on thousands of people was gathered, filed and documented.

A health unit was established consisting of doctors and civil servants assigned to the health organizations to take care of such tasks as treating organization members wounded in armed actions and taking over their care in the hospitals and, by having the treatment and recovery of organization members injured during hits and armed clashes in the care of this organizational unit without sending them to public and private medical facilities, organization militants avoided observation and organization involvement in actions was concealed.

### Organization's Status Mapped

The organization's status was shown on maps, pinpointing the regions throughout the country where every action would take place.

Operatives were assigned to take jobs in the public enterprises to acquire the documents and information needed from them for the organization, to obtain materials and supplies for the organization, to forward to the organization the money collected under different guises on behalf of the organization, in short, to use all of the public enterprises' resources for the organization's ends and to give organization policy an upper hand in them.

Thanks to these operatives, some public enterprises became organization depositories for concealed weapons and documents.

Employee rosters from the public enterprises and the National Intelligence Organization, seals and stamps and identity cards were forwarded to the organization.

Clothing for organization members and furnishings for organization houses and businesses were purchased from various stores with false identifications and charge cards made up in the names of employees of public enterprises.

Millions of liras were able to be turned over to the organization from the employee assistance funds and cooperatives at the public enterprises by taking over the administration of these funds and cooperatives.

False diplomas were obtained for organization militants through organization members at certain institutions of higher learning.

The student associations of the Higher Education and Middle Education Councils were taken over and dues were collected from students under false pretenses for membership in these associations and forwarded to the organization.

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[Text] Scope of Activities, Sentences Sought

The indictment in the Ankara Revolutionary Way trial charges that many automobiles were purchased for use in the organization's businesses and for organizational purposes.

The indictment says that illegal demonstrations were arranged on the pretext of observing the anniversaries of certain mass actions and deaths of slain organization members, expressing the following views:

"Illegal demonstrations were arranged on various pretexts, such as the anniversaries of the [1] May, 15-16 June and Kahramanmaraş incidents and of the deaths of organization members slain during armed clashes with security forces, and civil servants and workers employed at the public enterprises were induced to participate in these demonstrations.

"Homes were rented in the luxurious, high-cost districts of Ankara to house organization militants unobtrusively and to give them a hiding place after actions. The rentals were paid out of organization funds. Certain low-income families living in squatters' areas who were organization sympathizers were given monetary assistance in the form of living expenses and the rental of high-priced homes for them in central locations of the city where organization members could make use of them and where arms, documents and supplies belonging to the organization could be hidden.

"The organization had businesses such as a coal dealership, a drugstore, a day-care center, a perfume shop and a casting workshop to bring in steady income; offices used only as contact points and hide-outs for organization members; sales offices to allow organization militants to go unobtrusively to various establishments, homes and businesses to gather information by posing as salesmen; and engineering, ditto and photocopy offices where leaflets and posters could be designed and reproduced for organization purposes.

"Many automobiles were purchased for use in the organization's businesses and for organizational purposes and, to avoid attracting the attention of security forces and neighbors, these automobiles were registered by organization members using aliases not yet identified and were used to transport weapons and in other actions.

"A legal committee was formed to retain lawyers for arrested organization members and sympathizers and their families, to provide them monetary support, keep up with their investigations and get them off. Assistance was offered to arrested organization members and their families.

"These practices were used, not in Ankara Province alone, but in other areas of the country as well, such as Istanbul, Adana, Mersin, Hatay and Bursa provinces. Organization militants sent to these provinces from headquarters likewise made use of organization houses and businesses.

"Special couriers were selected to convey headquarters decisions to other regions of the country when necessary and to carry money, arms and reports back to headquarters from those regions. The exchange of information, weapons and money took place on a nationwide scale.

"The organization's publishing organs covered mass actions instigated by the organization throughout the entire country and photographs taken at these mass actions instigated by the organization were kept on file in Ankara."

After explaining the theory and development of Revolutionary Way and the charges as regards its actions, the indictment lists the sentences demanded for the defendants. The following wrap-up is made in the concluding section of the indictment:

#### Conclusion

"Apart from the 78 murders, 75 attempted murders, 28 thefts and 233 incidents of bombing, shooting and setting off explosives which are the subject of this indictment alone on the part of the organization that was organized and conducted its activities in the way briefly summarized, public trials have been opened by our Office of Military Prosecution in Martial Law Second Military Court with indictment reference number 1979/961 dated 15 December 1979 on 25 separate counts such as murder, assault, theft and setting off explosives carried out by the same organization in Ankara; in the First Court with indictment, reference number 1980/275 dated 17 November 1980, of 74 defendants on 76 separate counts such as murder, assault, bombing, shooting and theft; in the First Court with indictment reference number 1980/7419 dated 7 March 1981 on many counts of murder, bombing and shooting; and in the First Court with indictment reference number 1980/7557 dated 18 December 1981 of 32 defendants and with indictment reference number 1980/7603 dated 11 January 1982 of 39 defendants on 15 separate charges.

"These figures are exclusive of the murder, assault and bombing incidents carried out by the same organization within Ankara and in which suit has been brought on separate indictments, as well as the murder, assault and bombing incidents which have been differentiated from this trial and in which investigations are now in progress.

"It is further understood from the indictments compiled by the Martial Law Commands of Istanbul, Izmir, Adana, Erzurum, Eskisehir and Golcuk that the number of incidents of murder alone that the organization carried out nationwide can be expressed in thousands.

## Fatsa Incidents

"Taking into account also the Fatsa and Corum incidents, popularly known as the Fatsa incidents, of which investigations are now in progress and in which certain defendants named in this indictment also took part, it is seen that the proliferation and gravity of the armed actions that the organization launched throughout the entire country are of a nature intended to overthrow the constitutional order by force and are of a quality conducive to this end.

"It is understood from these revelations that the actions and activities that the defendants carried out moved through the stage of establishing societies and armed bands as covered by articles 141 and 168 of the TPC [Turkish Penal Code] to become acts intended to overthrow the constitutional order by force as described in TPC article 146.

"As known, TPC article 146 is a provision of the law proscribing efforts intended to overthrow the constitutional order by force. Premeditated attempt is sufficient grounds to invoke this article.

"The facts, in evaluating the above-described actions of the defendants, are that they intended to overthrow the constitutional order by force, that acts for this purpose were commenced, that the means employed were conducive to the realization of this purpose, but that, owing to the frustration of actions in pursuit of the goal after 12 September 1980, they failed to achieve the intended result for reasons beyond their control.

"However, the legal status of the defendants varies as regards the actions and forms of activity in which they engaged as well as their standing and extent of responsibility within the organization.

"It is requested for these reasons that:

"1. Those who administered and controlled the organization in general, the acts in which they engaged and the acts of those who participated as principal author of the crime of overthrowing the constitutional order, which was the organization's intent, be punished under TPC 146/1,

"2. Those who were members of the organization and participated as accessories in the acts carried out in pursuit of the goal or who engaged in other organizational activities be punished under TPC 146/3,

"3. The acts of those who, though not members of the organization, harbored organization members knowing they belonged to an armed band or assisted them in any way and facilitated the organization's activities be punished under TPC 169,

"4. Furthermore, the acts of organization members who procured arms for the organization be qualified as in violation of Law No 6136 and they be punished accordingly."

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END